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AUTHOR Thompson, Timothy N.
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ABSTRACT

By applying Kenneth Burke's concepts of Order, the Secret, and the Kill to the newspaper-audience-advertiser relationship, the narrow imagery that depicts that relationship only in economic terms can be counteracted. Burke's maps of hierarchy, mystery, and transcendence in human action allow the depiction of a complex meshing of patterns, increasing our understanding and appreciation of the news marketplace. Newspapers can be seen as the perfecting of The System and various subsystems in which the news and reader identify, such as national, state, and local systems or the economic and ecological systems. The mounting of hierarchies and the phasing from unknowns to knowns in the mystery process are forms of transcendence. Victimage and the cult of the Kill are keys for understanding transcendence as "rising above." Newspapers provide the reader with a fresh sense of transcendence through self-comparison with the negatives and evils of society, and thus serve a redemptive function. In a culture fixated with quantities, the newspaper can be seen as a "perfection measurement" report. The perfecting of athletics, for example, draws a heavy readership, mostly due to the rhetorical appeal of the "climb to the top" in each sporting hierarchy--the "mounting impulse" in which the readers can vicariously participate. The newspapers court readers with secrets to be made sense of ("Who will win the contest?" "Why did the killer do it?"), establishing the realm of questions--the mystery--to which they will provide the answers. Burke's concepts are "shorthand terms" for how people mesh their patterns of experience, explanations for why and how people join in communicative structures. (Fifteen references are appended.) (NKA)

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Courting the Buyer: The Relationship of Newspaper, Audience, and Advertisers

Timothy N. Thompson
Department of Speech Communication
& Dramatic Arts
Central Michigan University
Mt. Pleasant, MI 48859

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St. Louis, Missouri

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Courting the Buyer: The Relationship of
Newspaper, Audience, and Advertisers

This essay is an analysis of the news-audience-advertiser relationship. Kenneth Burke's concepts of Order, the Secret, and the Kill are used as conceptual equipment for an aesthetic mapping of that relationship. This piece is a poetic counter-statement to sheerly economic and numerical accounts of the news marketplace. The essay works toward a unified and patterned view, as opposed to the fragmentary images of a "technological psychosis."

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Courting the Buyer: The Relationship of Newspaper, Audience, and Advertisers

Social scientists are in the business of describing, explaining, sometimes predicting, and less often controlling, while piecing together understanding of the complex patterns of "social reality." It is a business of wandering within and making sense of the "webs of significance," which Geertz (1973) notes, we ourselves have spun.

The temptation in such a business is to want to put things in order, to tidy things up, to reduce our uncertainty by recognizing and naming predictable structures and patterns in human behavior. In working toward an ordered and predictable view we often impose strict and rigorous descriptions on social phenomena. But sometimes such rigor in method negates the creative and aesthetic side to our art, limiting understanding to the structures we have imposed. Sometimes our tidy and ordered models of social action preclude us from recognizing the variety and complexity and chaotic meshing of patterns which weave in and about social reality. That's where the maps provided by such pioneers as Gregory Bateson and Kenneth Burke can aid in our explorations -- by complicating our images of social phenomena.

Gregory Bateson made a point of teaching us that strict thinking must be accompanied by loose thinking in the progress of science, that we should combine the two, where loose thinking allows the boundaries to fade on accepted definitions and conceptualizations, then strict thinking redraws the boundaries. He discussed the process as it applies to psychoanalysis. "And when the concepts, postulates, and premises have been straightened out, analysts will be able to embark on a new and still more fruitful orgy of loose thinking, until they reach a stage at which again their thinking must be strictly conceptualized. I think they ought to enjoy this alternating quality in the progress of science and not delay the progress of science by a refusal

to accept the dualism (1972, p.87)." Social scientific endeavors, Bateson claimed, must continually negotiate the balance between rigor and imagination.

In order to enrich our images and research about the social scene, Bateson would say we need to continually muddle our clichés, as he points out in the following "metalogue" (conversation where the structure of talk analogues the topic being talked about):

> Daughter: Daddy, why do things get in a muddle?
> Father: What do you mean? Things? Muddle?
> D: Well, people spend a lot of time tidying things, but they never seem to spend time muddling them. Things just seem to get in a muddle by themselves. And then people have to tidy them up again.
>
> D: Daddy, you didn't finish. Why do things get the way I say isn't tidy?
> F: But I have finished -- it's just because there are more ways which you call "untidy" than there are ways which you call "tidy."
> D: But that isn't a reason why --
> F: But, yes, it is. And it's the real and only very important reason.
> D: Oh, Daddy! Stop it.
> F: No, I'm not fooling. That is the reason, and all of scinece is hooked up with that reason... (1972, pp.3-5).

There are so many "untidy" ways of conceptualizing the mad dancing of patterns and attitudes that make up social action, that if we get fixated with tidiness we will miss much of the picture. If we are slaves to the rage for order, always seeking cleanliness and neatness and parsimony in our research, we may end up just reshuffling existing clichés.

> Father: I think we get somewhere with these conversations. I enjoy them very much and I think you do. But also, apart from that, I think we get some ideas straight and I think the muddles help. I mean that if we both spoke logically all the time, we would never get anywhere. We would only parrot all the old clichés that everybody has repeated for hundreds of years.
> Daughter: What is a cliché, Daddy?
> F: A cliché? It's a French word, and I think it was originally a printer's

word. When they print a sentence they have to take separate letters and put them one by one into a sort of grooved stick to spell out the sentence. But for words and sentences which people use often, the printer keeps little sticks of letters ready made up. And these ready-made sentences are called clichés.

D: But I've forgotten now what you were saying about clichés, Daddy.

F: Yes -- it was about these muddles we get into in these talks and how getting into muddles makes a sort of sense. If we didn't get into muddles, our talks would be like playing rummy without first shuffling the cards.

D: Yes, Daddy -- but what about those things -- the ready-made sticks of letters?

F: The clichés? Yes -- it's the same thing. We all have lots of ready-made phrases and ideas, and the printer has ready-made sticks of letters, all sorted out into phrases. But if the printer wants to print something new -- say, something in a new language, he will have to break up all that old sorting of letters. In the same way, in order to think new thoughts or say new things, we have to break up all our ready-made ideas and shuffle the pieces (Bateson, 1972, pp. 15-16)

Muddling clichés is an essential part of the creative process, a necessary separation from existing meaning linkages in order to discover and combine things and ideas in new ways. Muddling allows us break free of one perspective so that we might circumscribe social phenomena, to describe and explain action from many angles, to weave many perspectives together. It is a research attitude favoring "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) and "muddleheaded anecdotalism" (Simons, 1978), rather than a distillation of subject matter into a simple code. It is a strategy of expanding and clustering words, rather than reducing numbers, in explaining social action.

What we are suggesting is a "high variety" approach to social interpretation. The same strategy Burke suggests in claiming "we must keep trying anything and everything, improvising, borrowing from others, developing from others, dialectically using one text to comment upon another, schematizing; using the incentive to new wanderings, returning from these excursions to schematize again..(1969, p.265)." And Burke provides a general framework for such wanderings, a set of general maps

which help us make sense of our explorations. They are maps of key forms or motives which weave their way through all human action. They are maps of the hierarchy, mystery, and transcendence in human action, or, in other words, "Order, the Secret, and the Kill," about which Burke notes: "To study the nature of rhetoric, the relation between rhetoric and dialectic, and the application of both to human relations in general, is to circulate about these three motives ... we must consider how the fullness of dialectic ("reality") is continually being concealed behind the mists of one or another of these rhetorical overemphases. Here would be the outer reaches of a Rhetoric of Motives (1969, p.265)."

This essay is a high variety description of the relationship between a newspaper, its audience, and its advertisers, using the conceptual equipment provided in Order, the Secret, and the Kill. This analysis is one product of a six month study of the patterns of sense-making at a Northwest Ohio newspaper. First I will briefly describe Burke's notions of Order, the Secret, and the Kill, and then use those concepts to describe the news-audience-advertiser relationship.

Order, the Secret & the Kill

Humans are "goaded by the spirit of hierarchy (or moved by the sense of order," writes Burke (1966, p.16), and that hierarchy is itself a rhetorical form -- ranges of mountings -- which moves people toward ideals and ultimates. Our symbolic nature allows us to imbue the natural and dialectical world with order, differentiating various rungs on many ladders, naming (and thus thinking) things to exist in degrees of good to bad, worthy to worthless, god-like to devil-like, and so on. There are numerous manifestations of hierarchy: religious orders guided by some notion of an ideal being or existence (and guided away from notions of evil), business

hierarchies striving toward market position, profit, productivity, educational hierarchies with their fruition in understanding, artistic/aesthetic societies and subcultures with their self-imposed standards of beauty and taste; the political climb (which can be seen in most any order), the social climber, and the movement climbing; gangs, cults, clubs, and associations with initiates, ranks, rewards, and the goading toward the top. A world infused with hierarchy, stemming from the human rage for order, coming not from our nature as "class animal," but our nature as a "classifying animal." (Burke, 1969, p.283)

Now, in social systems there is very often an explicit hierarchy evident in the "organizational chart." That type of chart has informed much previous organizational research, like studies on chain of commmand, network and information path analyses, and superior-subordinate relationship research. But there is the other sense of hierarchy, the one in which the organization itself participates, that is worthy of our attention. Burke (1969, pp.189-192) notes that each term in a series (and thus, each thing in a series) participates in the ultimate perfection of that series. The acorn is not merely an acorn, but participates in the life cycle and promulgation of oaks; likewise, Marxist rhetoric has a grand design that allows the proletariat to be not only spokesperson for a class, but to derive purpose from acting in an historic sequence. And in the same way, members of organizations gain purpose, are goaded, are motivated, by participating in the organization's perfection.

Intricately woven into the idea of hierarchy are various perfecting myths (the "principle of thoroughness," Burke, 1968, p.450). Hierarchies culminate in some idea of the "top," and it is the image of perfecting, created in the naming of order, which acts as motivation toward such a top. Combining the concepts of order and perfection, we see each act participating in the

perfection of its kind, and the rationale for the perfecting is ultimately based on survival of one form or another. For instance, consider the perfecting of mosses and lichens creating new life in a fire-scarred forest. The order would be the patterns on the rocks created by the basic plant life, creating an environment and new life as it grows, aimed at carpeting an area, with promulgation the sign of survival. Any action (motion for plants) aimed at the survival of its kind is "perfecting." Unfortunately for the mosses and lichens, they cannot foresee that the waste they create in perfecting (soil) creates an environment suitable for other plants to move in and "squeeze out" the original land owners. Thus, the mosses and lichens, once the primary form of life, become a sign of decay within the new order (rotten with perfection).

Switching back to the environments of human social systems, we can analogue the above developments. Social systems create an order (and to some degree, order creates the system), aimed at survival, and any act by individual members insuring that survival is participating in that system's brand of perfection. Members of the social system then retrospectively label their perfecting in the guise of "productivity," "sales," "assets," and such, which reinforces future perfecting by the same name. These manifestations of perfecting may be good indicators of a system's environment or culture (no new idea, of course, it all ties back into "progress").

Not limiting ourselves to stagnant pictures of order (i.e., the "organizational chart"), we see in the realm of action that hierarchy is continually emerging, evolving. Within the moving order, divisions are created -- rungs of specialization, stratifications of rank -- and in division there are "unknowns" between people (classes, kinds) divided; and the unknown is what makes for mystery. Burke (1966, p.15) ties hierarchy and mystery. "To the extent that a social structure becomes differentiated, with

privileges to some that are denied to others, there are conditions for a kind of 'built in' pride. King and peasant are 'mysteries' to each other." Moreover, "those up" maintain the hierarchy much by mystification, or "magic," which is "a rhetorical device for maintaining unity of action in diversity of role (Burke, 1969, p.205)."

One important manifestation of magic is money, the magic working its spell on many a hierarchy. Money is a basis for divisions within order, also a sign of perfecting, and Burke doubts the stability of a system lacking in the powerful spirituality of lucre: "to the extent that dignity is attested by monetary advantage, there seems to be a 'magical' need for higher officials in the typical business corporation to receive an income 'awesomely' greater than that of any ordinary worker. It comes to seem dubious whether 'authority' could be preserved in any other way (1969, p.260)." The magic of money provides a goading wherein the "pursuit of hapiness" is transformed into a search for "more magic;" and those with more money seem to be doing a more adequate job of explaining the mystery -- their magic is working.

Money is not the only magical motivation. There is also the sheer rhetorical appeal of mystery itself, the process of moving from unknowns to knowns (participating in secrets). Picture the hierarchy of social systems as a demystification process whereby people are indoctrinated, socialized, given answers to the mystery within which they participate. This socialization is not necessarily a move "up," but more appropriately an expansion, a move "outward," as members acquire organizational lore and secrets, learn the ropes, pass through rituals, and demonstrate the appropriate attitudes and behaviors to earn initiation into the next level of the mystery. Here are some signs of participation in the mystery we might observe: being given a key or set of keys, promotion to a new level, the sudden realization of a common cause or identification with other members,

formal and informal ceremonies of initiation; being granted an increased budget (more magic); the right to mingle with higher echelon; the rite of passage in receiving a new territory; and the typical symbols of status like a raise, a new office, a parking place, an expense account, and flexible hours.

Socialization entails demystification as well as mystification. Mystery is inherent in the order named and maintained by those "up," who are learning secrets of their own, while mystifying and "cluing in" those "down." That is, all are perpetuating the mystery (sharing secrets), a motive that is forever goading, or as Burke notes, "Only the motives of mystery (making for the development toward ever 'higher' degrees of ordination) are infinite in their range (1969, p. 275)."

These pictures of hierarchy and mystery have been brought to you by transcendence. It is imagery of hierarchy-in-action that we are here looking for, not a mere organizational chart, and this terminology provides such action. There is transcendence in moving from unknown to known, and in the mounting of hierarchies. There is a transcending in the simple act of using words, as Burke (1969, p.192) shows us: "And when we use symbols for things, such symbols are not merely reflections of the things symbolized, or signs for them; they are to a degree a transcending of the thing symbolized. So, to say man is a symbol-using animal is by the same token to say that he is a 'transcending animal.' Thus, there is in language itself a motive force calling man to transcend the 'state of nature'."

Transcendence is guided much by mystery, hierarchy, and ideas of ultimate perfection. It is inherently action away from imperfection and breaches of order. However, there will always be imperfections and breaches ("for who can keep commandments!"), and so enters the workings of guilt. With guilt is the need for redemption, and "it would seem to follow that the 'guilt' intrinsic to hierarchical order (the only kind of 'organiza-

tional' order we have ever known) calls correspondingly for 'redemption' through victimage (Burke, 1984, p.284)." Victimage is a very common form of transcendence -- catharsis and transformation through redirecting guilt at a common scapegoat. This is also to say that people often gain a sense of purpose through scapegoating -- unity through victimage -- comfort in "the cult of the Kill."

Transcendence has many forms (cf Burke, 1969, on "ultimate identification," or William James, 1968, on the "varieties of religious experience"). It is the motive force in victimage, in team spirit, and in the "death experience," it is what lures the drug addict on to new "highs" and inspires the criminal to new "lows." There is transcending in a rocket to the moon and in an elevator ride, in the various lifts of life and the vicarious lift of deaths. Transcendence is "rising above the state of nature," escaping physical limitations, a boundless symbolic and sensual wandering. It is newsworthy.

Audience, Advertisers & News

The idea here is to apply the above notions, and other relevant imagery, in a description of the audience-advertiser-news relationship. This picture will be developed with a newspaper in mind, but the claims may be valid for other news media. The more important idea here is that we are counteracting the narrow imagery which depicts that relationship only in economic terms (e.g., As circulation increases, advertising revenues increase). It is an economic relationship, to be sure, but as The Lord says to Satan in Burke's "Prologue to Heaven" (1970), "It's more complicated than that..." We are seeking high variety images to depict a complex meshing of patterns, and hopefully increase our understanding and appreciation of the news "marketplace." Attempting to view those complexities through eco-

nomic terms alone will only stunt the imagination's growth.

In our discussion of hierarchy and order we noted that people act together in the names of various principles of perfection, and that the form of hierarchy itself -- the spirit -- acts as a motive force. From one angle, we can say that newspapers are mosaics of combined perfecting myths. Take the perfecting of criminal justice, for instance, the court system's quest for fairness, the struggle for right to win out over wrong. Pieties, according to Burke (1935/1984), are "the yearning to conform with the source of one's being," and "a sense of what properly goes with what;" they are also "system builders." The newspaper's coverage of criminal action may vicariously gratify that yearning for readers. Why is it that readers are interested with who got caught committing what crime? What is it about the "police blotter" or daily record of arrests that is so appealing? It may be the assurance that order is being maintained, that good is triumphing over evil, or the transcendence in identifying victims. Whatever the case, there is a perfecting of criminal justice in which the newspaper participates with its audience; acting together in a common cause.

There is also perfecting of The System and various subsystems in which the news and reader identify, like national, state, and local systems, or the economic and ecological systems; military and religious systems, educational systems and weather systems (the "arbitrary lines" rule for defining systems is coming in handy here). One reads where the financial system has achieved some new "height" in activity, or where the military has discovered a new technological wonder, and there is an identification with others -- the reader as part, participating in the perfection of the whole. It doesn't matter, for perfection's sake, if the reader is opposed to financial or military perfecting myths, because each incident of anti-perfection serves as justification for one's own perfection. So, if a member

of the arms limitation movement reads of the military testing a bigger and better nuclear device, that bit of evidence functions as fuel for the disarmament argument. Thus people can come together and identify and, in a sense, grow strong in what appears to be defeat -- the socialization of losses.

Orwell was no stranger to this tendency for newspapers (and various systems that disseminate through the news media) to court readers by identifying new strides toward perfection. Oceania was forever achieving new records in meeting quotas, whether that quota be food for the people or numbers of enemy prisoners. It about drove Winston crazy trying to keep up with the changing bases of comparison, the way the "old" was redefined to make it better fit with the "news" of new accomplishments. Number magic was one of Big Brother's key tools for domination, for keeping alive the illusion of progress.

The magic of numbers is alive in today's tabloids. Although we are trying to avoid a strictly economic analysis, we cannot avoid noticing how dollar figures weave their way through many stories in the news. Money is, after all, a major form of identification, a common language, in the capitalist system (and other systems less likely to admit it). Couple with that the idea that ours is a culture fixated with quantities, and we begin to see newspapers as a "perfection measurement" report. The news acts together with readers in measuring various aspects of the daily drama. And for people hierarchically-inclined, as Burke claims we all are, measurement is a reflex action.

Economic perfecting is also useful for conceptualizing the audience-advertiser relationship. Advertisers (businesses) court the readers with economic appeals and promises of economic advantage. The advertisers and readers act together in the economic exchange system, both materially (money exchanging hands) and symbolically (the promise of a better life).

There is a hierarchy of consumerism, with participants all mounting the purchase power pyramid, all acting together under the god terms of "sale," "savings," and "a better deal."

There are numerous other examples of people perfecting in orders within Order. The perfecting of athletics draws a heavy readership, mostly due to the rhetorical appeal of the "climb to the top" in each sporting hierarchy -- the "mounting impulse" in which the readers can vicariously participate. There is a perfecting of science and medical breakthroughs in which news and audience share in the glow of symbols of progress, and advertisers woo the reader with the lure of new technology. There is a perfecting of democracy on the editorial page, the perfecting of aesthetics in the Arts section, and the perfecting of baking recipes in the Home & Foods section. The newspaper caters to many suborders, identifying with a spectrum of people, each with their particular "climb." The newspaper acts in, and reflects, the many hierarchies-in-action which make up the human drama.

The Drama offers much mystery, and the resolution of mystery is one general appeal of the news with its readers. Burke rightfully claimed that "the motives of mystery are infinite in their range (1969, p.275)." There will always be unknowns, and the opportunity for people to phase from unknowns into knowns, participating in secrets. It may be that the motive of mystery is the key rhetorical appeal of a newspaper and news in general: the "need to know" as base motivation. Here again, the news acts together with readers in the mystery form, and as with the hierarchical form, people are moved by the sheer spirit of the repetitive pattern of symbolic structure that is the form.

The nature and pace of change in contemporary American society makes for curiosity and wonderment and questions of entelechy: to where is it all leading? The news is continually unfolding subplots in this mystery, and

reader involvement hinges upon the newspaper's ability to continue revealing secrets. Those secrets are the day-to-day revelations of "who done it?" and "why did they do it?" and "what should be done about it?" in criminal and other epidiectic matters, or the conspiration in business dealings that maintains the lure of the stock market; or even the changing and shifting mystery of what tomorrow's weather will be. Mystery is the major appeal of the weather report.

Humans are divided, separated, naturally and symbolically. The news is a "bridging device" between people divided, and bridging the mystery gap is the essence of courtship, or as Burke writes, courtship is "the use of suasive devices for the transcending of social estrangement (1969, p. 208)." The newspaper courts readers with secrets in the continual demystification process of socialization. Advertisers are also courting readers with secrets in the realm of consumerism, offering avenues for converting money magic into the pursuit of happiness.

The advertiser-newspaper relationship can also be considered as a merger in mystery, as they unite in explaining various unknowns about the audience. Market research is a demystification process, and the news courts advertisers with promises to deliver to certain market segments, to bridge the advertisers with the object of their affections. Newspapers are match-makers. Newspapers and advertisers alike are forever working on "what does the audience want?" (or should be, if they are living up to the "marketing concept") -- How can we please our beloved? We could here borrow Richard Weaver's notes on The Phaedrus to consider whether newspapers and advertisers are "noble lovers," "evil lovers," or "non-lovers," but that is an angle on a different story.

As an interesting side-bar on the relationship between advertisers and

readers, there is the idea that advertisers are themselves creating the divisions and unkowns that make for the mystery between them. Advertisers are forever keeping consumers off-balance with planned obsolesence, at once mystifying the audience with shifting rules of "fashion" (in the widest sense of the word -- clothing, technologies, ideas), then providing newer and better magic as resolution to the mystery. Burke writes, "Rhetorically, there can be courtship only insofar as there is division. Hence, only through interference could one court continually (1969, p.271)." Advertisers maintain the relationship only by generating obstacles, always setting up interferences, participating in what Burke calls "the cult of 'new needs' (with the continual shifting of objectives to which men are goaded by the nature of our economic system). By such temporizings, the form of persuasion is permanently maintained (1969, p.275)."

A similar game operates in the news-audience realtionship. Newsmakers are forever throwing new cogs in the wheels of the Drama, new mysteries being introduced to be made sense of, new fodder for audience curiosity. "Who will win the contest?" "Why did the killer do it?" "Just what is the deception, and who's responsible?" The news establishes the realm of questions, the mystery, to which they will provide the answers. Now, we won't go so far as to suggest the news "creates" the events that provide the mystery, although sometimes that is the case. But the news does create the event for the audience in the ways the event is bracketed, framed, labelled, tied to other events, and otherwise made sensible. Newspeople and advertisers both set up the mysteries, provide the interferences that allow for continued courting.

The mounting of hierarchies and phasing from unknowns into knowns in the mystery process are forms of transcendence, and there are other manifestations of rising above the state of nature born in the news-audience

advertiser relationship. For one, the newspaper allows audience members and advertisers to transcend physical limitations by delivering ads to the masses and communicating mass happenings to individuals. The newspaper allows people to escape their own sensory limits and exposes them to many and varied people.

Victimage, and the workings of the "cult of the Kill," are keys for understanding transcendence as "rising above." In the scapegoating of others is a lift, a cleansing, a "negative" which dialectically gives power and justification to one's own "positive." In Burke's epilogue to The Rhetoric of Religion, The Lord explains to Satan that "If you carry this principle [of redemption through substitution] through to its completion, it implies that one person can suffer for another, as 'payment' for the other's guilt (1970, p.295)." In victimage is a vicarious purification, a confirmation of being closer to the heavens, a transcendence.

Ernest Becker, showing how humans aspire to eternalize their existence in their quest for immortality, puts it thus: "Men try to qualify for eternalization by being clean and cleansing the world around them of evil, the dirty. In this way they show that they are on the side of purity, even if they are themselves impure (1976, p.115)." Could it be that readers vicariously participate in cleansing the world of evil through their newspapers? Is this the motivation behind the appeal of negative news? Perhaps a vicarious cleansing through victimage is the lure of the "police blotter" and other reports of evil maintained.

Alan Harrington explains the cleansing motive behind victimage:

> Cruelty can arise from the aesthetic outrage we sometimes feel in the presence of strange individuals who seem to be making out all right.... Have they found some secret passage to eternal life? If those weird individuals with beards and funny hats are acceptable, then what about my claim to superiority? Can someone like that be my equal in God's eyes? Does he, that one, dare hope to live forever too -- and perhaps

> crowd me out? I don't like it. All I know is, if he's right I'm wrong. So different and funny-looking. I think he's trying to fool the gods with his sly ways. Let's show him up. He's not very strong. For a start, see what he'll do when I poke him (cited in Becker, p.113).

The courtship between newspaper and readers may be strengthened by the "pokes" at lesser individuals and groups -- identification through victimage. It provides the reader a fresh sense of transcendence through a self-comparison with the negatives and evils and dregs of society. Through identifying the devil concepts of the dialectic, readers may gain assurance that they are leading in the race to the heavens. The newspaper serves a redemptive function.

This could lead to ponderings about the religious properties and patterns in newsmaking. The newspaper ofers a chance to worship, in a way, with its spelling out of the system's pieties, and subtle but repetitive proverbs ("To buy is divine," "A penny invested is a dollar earned"). Government officials, and others performing the priest function, give their sermons through the news media, pleading with the congregation to unite on the path to what is good and righteous, for "evil is all around us." The news quietly asks that members pay for the privelege of worship by supporting the advertisers -- pay tribute to the lucre gods. Newspapers contain repetitive patterns of pious attitudes, much like prayer, in their emphases across time; repetitive themes that provide reassurance of order.

The newspaper acts together (identifies) with readers and advertisers in those repetitive patterns of symbolic experience, the forms of hierarchy, mystery, and transcendence. Order, the Secret, and the Kill: they are three key motives that are "shorthand terms" for how people mesh their patterns of experience, explanations for why and how people join in communicative structures.

Implications for investigation

The object of the above aesthetic mapping was to expand and enrich descriptions of the three-system relationship of the news marketplace. It was a counter-statement to a sheerly economic explanation. Burke (1935/1984) talks of a "technological psychosis" which is manifested in the tendency to quantify, the tendency to treat social data as sterile information rather than artistic expression -- a psychosis which leads to viewing the world as "bits" rather than "unities." The poetic orientation of this essay was an attempt at weaving unities, as opposed to further fragmentation.

That is probably Burke's biggest qualm with newspapers and journalists in general, that they tend to depict the world as fragmented, breaking up experience into comfortably analyzable units. And if that pattern of fragmentation is repeated, as it is in the news and in the human tendency to hierarchically separate, then it eventually becomes engrained deep in the human psyche. Fragmentation and dissociation are products of symbol-usage.

There are "system implications" in this analysis. To understand the nature of news we cannot consider it separately from its supporters and constituency. It is not newspeople acting alone, but acting with and reacting to their audience and advertisers. News action is contextualized and affected by that relationship. There should be no simple flow charts or linear-causal mappings, we should instead look for the multiple and circular flows in the relationship. All participants are acting together and making sense of the world within uniting forms of experience.

This is the same point that Lippmann (1922) was making, albeit from a different angle. He showed us the various interdependencies of the newspaper with its audience and advertisers. He also showed us how the news paints "borders" in the "pictures in our heads of the world out there." Lippmann, too, was getting at the symbolic fragmentation that is inherent in

the ways hierarchically-inclined animals name their world. The news paints an image of the world as discrete units rather than the holisitc interweaving of patterns that it actually is.

That fragmentation lies deep in the core of our images of the world. It lies in our tendency to quantify and rank and order and show how things are separate. If Bateson is correct in arguing that "quantities are precisely not the stuff of complex communicative systems (cited in Bochner, 1982)," then it will require a muddling of clichés on a grand level to get back on a unifying track. Our methods for studying and naming the whole often create the fragmentary bits of images that we should be trying to tie together.

Ernst Cassirer (1946) discussed a conceptualization of the world as "mana," as an undivided intermingling and continuous flow of patterns, and he suggested metaphors as key to naming the mana as unities rather than divisions. Burke's grand metaphors of Order, the Secret, and the Kill are means of mapping those mergers within mana -- eqipment for correcting the technological psychosis. This essay has been an attempt at such poetic-corrective action.

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